

FEDERAL AMENDMENT NUMBER

HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

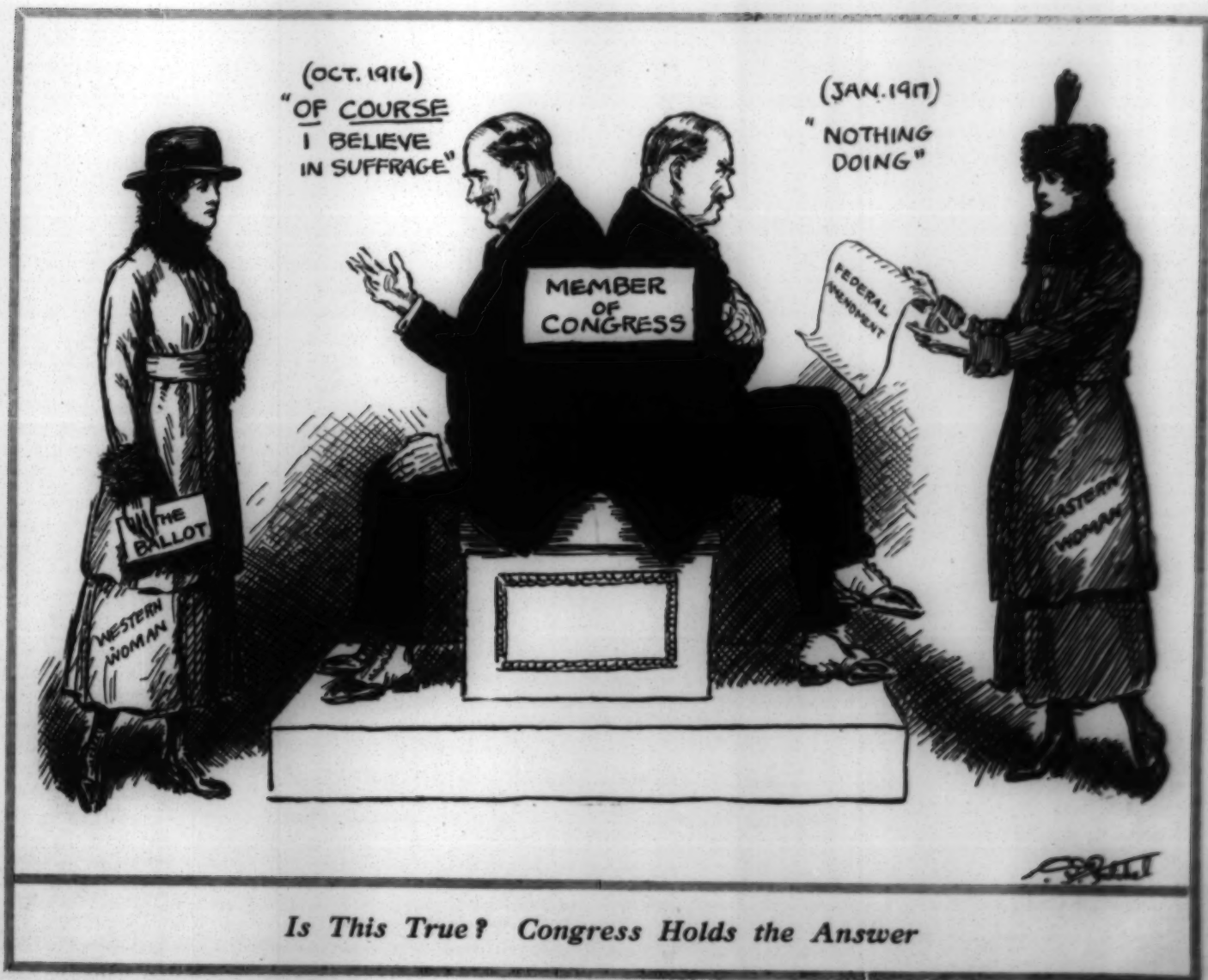
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
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HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

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National American Woman Suffrage Association

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<i>Recording Secretary</i> MRS. THOMAS JEFFERSON SMITH	<i>Headquarters:</i> Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

WHY THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT?

Woman suffrage is coming—no intelligent person in the United States will deny that fact.

When it will come and how it will come are still open questions. Woman suffrage by Federal aid is supported by five main reasons. These reasons may be evaded or avoided, but they cannot be answered:

(1) **Suffrage for men and suffrage for women in other lands, with few and minor exceptions, has been granted by parliamentary act and not by referendum.** By such enactment the women of Australia were granted the full suffrage in Federal elections by the Federal Parliament and each state or province, including Tasmania, granted full suffrage in all other elections by act of the provincial parliament. By such enactment New Zealand, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, the Isle of Man and Finland gave the equal suffrage in all elections to women. By such process the parliament of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta gave full suffrage to their women. British Columbia referred the question to the voters, but the parliament had already extended all suffrage rights except one, and both political parties lent their aid in the referendum, which gave a majority in every precinct. By parliamentary act all other Canadian provinces, the provinces of South Africa, Sweden and Great Britain have extended far more voting privileges than any woman citizen of the United States east of the Missouri River (except those of Illinois) has received. The suffragists of France reported just as the war broke out that the French Parliament was pledged to extend full municipal

suffrage to women. Men and women of high repute say the full suffrage is certain to be extended by the British Parliament to the women of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales soon after the war, and already these women have all suffrage rights except the vote for parliamentary members. *It is cruelly unfair to subject American women to a longer, harder, more difficult method than those of other lands.* Practically the same method is provided by our Federal Constitution. To deny its benefits to the women of this country is to put upon them a *penalty for being Americans.*

(2) Men of this country have been enfranchised by various extensions of the voting privilege, but in no single instance were they compelled to appeal to an electorate containing groups of unnaturalized foreigners, Indians, negroes and large numbers of illiterates, ne'er-do-wells, drunks and even white slavers. The Jews, denied the vote in all colonies, and the Catholics, denied the vote in most colonies, received their franchise through the revolutionary constitutions, which removed all religious qualifications for the vote in a self-respecting manner to all. The property qualifications for the vote, which were established in every colony and continued in the early state constitutions, were usually removed by a referendum, but the question went to an electorate limited to property holders only. The largest number of voters to which such an amendment was referred was that of New York. Had every man qualified to vote done so, the electorate would not have exceeded 200,000 and probably not more than 150,000. The next extensions of the vote to men were made by Congress, which gave the vote to certain tribes of Indians and by amendment to the Federal Constitution, which gave the vote to the Negro. At least three-fourths of the present voters secured their vote through naturalization of themselves or their forefathers. Congress determines conditions of citizenship and state constitutions fix qualifications of voters. In no instance has the foreign immigrant been forced to plead with a vast electorate for his vote. To deny American women as easy a process of securing their vote as has been granted to men is a discrimination so flagrant and intolerable that no fair-minded man should be a party to it.

(3) **The constitutions of many states have provided for amendment by such difficult processes that they either have never been amended or have not been amended when the subject is in the least controversial.** A present case illustrates. Newspapers in Kentucky which have opposed woman suffrage and still do have started a campaign to submit woman suffrage and prohibition amendments in order to defeat them and remove them from politics for five years, as the same questions cannot be again submitted for that length of time. Until new constitutions are adopted, there are states where women can never be enfranchised, no matter what the sentiment. Woman suffrage has been caught in the coils of constitutional technicalities. Not to be willing to release it and give it a fair chance before the country is un-American.

(4) **The election laws of all states make inadequate provision for safeguarding the vote on constitutional amendments.** When both dominant parties desire to stand sponsor for such a vote an amendment is safeguarded; but when both have the friends of the amendment to look after its interest, as they usually do, a woman suffrage amendment is unfairly handicapped at the outset. Women in most states are not legally qualified to be watchers nor to serve as election officials. Nor do they possess the voter's influence to secure the appointment of officials who will take a watchful supervision over an honest vote and an honest count. To be sure, such officials are supposed to defend honesty and accuracy in elections, but that they do not do so was pitifully evidenced in Iowa and West Virginia and it has been in many another suffrage campaign. Since election laws do not protect suffrage referenda, suffragists demand the right prescribed by our national constitution to appeal their case from male voters to the higher court of Congress and the legislatures.

(5) **Woman suffrage is regarded by every other country as a National question.** With eleven states in our own country, with half the territory of the civilized world already won, with the statement of the Press still unchallenged that women voters decided a presidential election, any policy which shunts responsibility and fails to recognize the importance of this question is pusillanimous and cowardly. One has said: "Statesmen lead and the people follow; politicians follow but never lead." Such statesmen are never afraid to tell what they think and where they stand. They do not hesitate to espouse or oppose public questions. Such politicians will naturally prefer to hide behind the arras of a secret ballot in a referendum which relieves them of responsibility, but the women of the land who are self-respecting enough to want a vote ask a "square deal" by National action.

—CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

* * *

WILL THE DEMOCRATS REMEMBER?

By ROSE YOUNG

The present crucial situation of suffrage as a federal question has no counterpart in the history of the cause in America save in the intense days immediately following the Civil War. Young as the suffrage agitation was in those days the '60's were as vivid with potentiality for nation-wide suffrage as are these days that see the going out of the 64th Congress and the coming in of the 65th, with the suffrage amendment one of the paramount issues under consideration by both Senate and House. During and just after the war the thought and the heart of the nation were vibrating to a new concept of democracy. Men were exalted and receptive. In the expansion of the hour, room was almost made for the enfranchisement of women. Women had admittedly played a great part in furthering universal emancipation. Pulpit, platform and press rang

with tributes to the services they had rendered. Sumner had drawn on them unremittingly as his aides in his fight in Congress for universal emancipation. Abolitionists, Unionists and Republicans had made whole-hearted demands upon them. They had been found so very helpful indeed that great things had been promised them, in return for all they had done and must continue to do for the anti-slavery cause.

Then the awakening. It was "the Negro's hour" they said, and the women were deserted on every hand. Wendell Phillips, Gerrit Smith, Greeley, Garrison, Tilton, Higginson, Bryant, one and all allowed the enfranchisement of the black men to outweigh the enfranchisement of women. Charles Sumner found the women's claim "most inopportune." Abolitionists refused even to sign their petitions. Republicans presented those petitions to Congress so emasculated as to destroy their significance. Deserted all along the line, the women yet made their first demand for congressional action on suffrage in the autumn of 1865. It was at once a protest and a petition. A protest against the inclusion of the word "male" in the amendment and a petition to have women included in the provisions of that amendment. From that time forward the history of the effort to pass the amendment is stormy with the effort to secure for all women the recognition that was projected for the Negro men. Again and again, led by Miss Anthony, women rallied to the task of importuning Congress to include women in the proposed extension of the electorate. Again and again the men whose dependence they had been in the anti-slavery crisis failed them utterly. Came at last the fateful ratification of the amendment with a wording that forever closed that door in the faces of the women who stood without and waited.

There followed days, years, decades during which the principle of self-government was stultified and woman's dream of political liberty was made the plaything and the football of one nonchalant Congress after another. Led up to party platforms with fulsome promises, over and over suffrage workers found that the only plank on which they could stand had been left out. Confronted by a great opportunity to free America of the last vestige of political shackles, the degree of skill to which compromise and evasion were brought is best attested by the following, adopted at a National Republican Convention:

"The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their devotion to the cause of freedom; their admission to wider fields of usefulness is received with satisfaction; and the honest demands of any class of citizens for equal rights should be treated with respectful consideration."

It was in the '70's that there evolved the amendment that would take from the States the right to deny the franchise to any citizen of the United States on account of sex, and that same amendment stands to-day in House and Senate awaiting action. Since the year 1882 it has been

reported from the Senate committee every year with a favorable majority except in 1890 and 1896. Twice it has gone to vote in the Senate. The first time was on January 25, 1887, resulting in 16 yeas and 34 nays, with 26 absent, four of whom were committed to suffrage, giving a total suffrage strength of 20. The second time was on March 19, 1914, when there were 35 yeas and 34 nays. In the House it has been reported from committee seven times, twice by a favorable majority, three times by an adverse majority, and twice without recommendation. The House, in the position of hereditary enemy of nation-wide suffrage, has never let the measure come to vote until, in 1915, the pressure became too strong to be resisted and the poll netted 174 yeas and 204 nays.

The great body of organized suffragists in America are neither Republicans nor Democrats. They are ashamed to be either while both parties deny them the franchise. But once more the country is ringing with the echoes of women's part in a great national crisis, the crisis that was determined in favor of Wilsonian democracy on November 7. Democrats profess their gratitude for what women did. Republicans express anticipation of what women may do. Because of her women, the West is conceded a new determinism in national politics. The South revels anomalously in a victory attributed to an institution to which she has long turned a cold shoulder, woman suffrage. The East discovers that it is an outrage to enfranchise women in the West and disbar them elsewhere. And North, South, East and West it is pointed out that only a federal election law can equalize the present insupportable political situation.

Once more a great opportunity confronts a great political party, the opportunity of being the instrument to insure political recognition to the last dweller within America's gates. Once more the women stand and wait. Back of them stretches the record of tribute and acknowledgment, of praise and of promise.

In 1867 the Republicans forgot.

In 1917 will the Democrats remember?

* * *

THE SUFFRAGE BILL IN CONGRESS

To-day the Federal suffrage amendment has reached positions of crucial moment in both houses of Congress. After months of the maddening delay incident to being "smothered in committee," the House Committee has reported the bill without recommendation. This clears the way for it to a place on the House's calendar of business when it can go to vote on the floor of the House. In the Senate the bill has been favorably reported from the suffrage committee.

"Going to vote" is a step toward victory, but it is by no means victory itself and the work of insuring that the vote in both houses shall be favorable is the work that is just now engaging the chief

energies of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The National's committee on congressional work, as at present constituted, is made up of the executive congressional committee, including the so-called lobby, the chairman of the State Congressional Committees, and additional members from the states known as congressional aides. The congressional work has grown to such dimensions that it has recently been found necessary to divide it into four sections with four division chiefs. Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, of Missouri, ranking officer of the National and chairman of the committee formed for this year's congressional work, will be at the head of the section that will have in charge all social-political activities. This includes, in particular, the engaging of the interest of the friends of suffrage from the different states who make Washington their winter home. Mrs. Maud Wood Park, of Massachusetts, has been appointed vice-chairman of the main committee and chairman of the Section on Legislation. This is the section that is otherwise known as the "Front Door Lobby," in recognition of the fact that it uses no side-door methods and works in the wide open. Miss Heloise Meyer, of Massachusetts, will be at the head of the Social Section, with Mrs. J. Borden Harriman as vice-chairman. Besides these there will be a Publicity Section under the direction of Mr. George Mosshart, co-operating with Washington's local publicity committee, of which Mrs. Gertrude Mosshart is chairman. Miss Ruth White is secretary of the main committee, which includes also Miss Mary Garrett Hay, of New York; Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Guilford Dudley, of Tennessee; Mrs. Charles W. McClure, of Michigan; Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, of Arkansas; Mrs. B. B. Valentine, of Virginia; and Miss Martha Norris, of Ohio.

Supporting these women are a number of others of national prominence who work in the capacity of "congressional aides." One of these is Mrs. William Jennings Bryan, another is Mrs. Newton D. Baker, wife of the Secretary of War; still another is Mrs. David F. Houston, wife of the Secretary of Agriculture. All points of the compass are represented in the full list of "aides": Alabama, by Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs; Tennessee, by Mrs. Guilford Dudley; Kentucky, by Mrs. Joseph Alderson, Mrs. Harry R. Whiteside and Mrs. John G. South; California, by Mrs. James Ellis Tucker; Connecticut, by Mrs. A. E. Scranton-Taylor; Illinois, by Mrs. George Bass, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Mrs. Wm. Severin, Miss Harriet Vittum and Mrs. Harrison Munro Brown; Massachusetts, by Mrs. Glendower Evans, Pres. Mary E. Woolley, of Holyoke, Mrs. Walter Prichard Eaton, Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw, Mrs. Gertrude Halliday Leonard, Mrs. Oakes Ames, Mrs. Mabel Churchill, Mrs. Katherine H. Millard and Mrs. Samuel Powers; Michigan, by Mrs. Charles W. McClure, Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, Mrs. James B. Balch, Mrs. E. L. Calkins and Mrs. Carey W. Dunton. The New York contingent includes Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton, Mrs. Henry White Cannon, Miss Mary Wood and Mrs. George L. Hubbell. Mrs. Winston Churchill represents New Hampshire. Besides Mrs. Bryan, Nebraska is represented by Mrs. Charles H. Dietrich; Ohio's representative is

Mrs. Samuel B. Sneath; Texas is represented by Mrs. M. Eleanor Brackenridge and Wyoming by Dr. Grace Hebard; Vermont has Mrs. Oliver C. Ashton and Mrs. Henry W. Clement as its representatives; Indiana is represented by Mrs. T. Arthur Stuart.

From every part of the Union, in fact, women will be working in relays in Washington until the Federal amendment is passed. During December there were representative women from a dozen different states on hand interviewing senators and congressmen. Mrs. Frank M. Roessing and Miss Hannah Patterson came from Pennsylvania, Mrs. Guilford Dudley from Tennessee and Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith from Kentucky. Mrs. A. E. Scranton-Taylor came from Connecticut. Mrs. Leonora Hanna Cox was there from Indiana. Massachusetts was answered for by Mrs. Glendower Evans and Mrs. Maud Wood Park. Mrs. Ben Hooper spoke for the Wisconsin situation, and Mrs. Charles McClure for Michigan. New York was represented by Mrs. Harriman, Miss Mary Wood and Miss Rose Young. State by state will contribute its quota of workers to bring pressure to bear on Congress.

* * *

REAL DEMOCRACY

This nation was founded upon the proposition that all men are created equal. The greatest leader the political party to which Mr. Root professes allegiance ever knew iterated and reiterated that thought. Is there anyone who doubts that Abraham Lincoln meant women as well as men by that declaration? How could anything else be meant? All people are created equal. That is the foundation upon which our government rests. That is the fundamental underlying principle upon which the very structure of the nation has been erected. Women, the mothers, wives and sisters of men, surely cannot be their inferiors.

This nation is the great democracy, the great government of the people. In its very essence a democracy is a land in which no one is compelled to obey laws of which they have no voice in the making. At the time the United States of America was founded no thought was given to woman suffrage. Custom had decreed that she should take no part in public affairs. Her very property became that of her husband as soon as the marriage knot was tied. She had no rights that she could call her own. All that has been changed except that she has not as yet been given the vote. When she once began to agitate for it she ought have had it at once, for she must obey the laws, and where she cannot vote she has no voice in the making of them. To deny her the vote is undemocratic, unfair and un-American. It is not the proposition to give her a vote that is "a menace to the principles underlying the Union," but the self-satisfied Roots who would deny her her just rights and seek to gloss over their unfair treatment with flattery.

Flattery and beautiful flowers of speech are not all that is due woman. She is entitled to far more, justice and fair treatment, and these she will not have until she is given a voice in the making of the laws she must obey.—*Gazette, York, Pa.*

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

64TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1.

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the
United States Conferring upon Women the
Right of Suffrage.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment.

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE:

January 12, 1915; yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 64th Congress

IN THE SENATE:

December 7, 1915, by Senator Sutherland, of Utah, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, and Senator Thompson, of Kansas. Referred in the Senate to Committee on Woman Suffrage. Reported in the Senate on January 8, with a favorable recommendation.

IN THE HOUSE:

December 6, 1915, by Representatives Raker, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Referred in the House to the Judiciary Committee, and by it to its sub-committee No. 1. Reported to the Judiciary Committee by the sub-committee on February 13, 1916, with recommendation that the Judiciary Committee report it to the House without recommendation. By a vote of 9 to 7, on February 13, the Judiciary Committee returned the amendment to sub-committee No. 1 with instructions to hold until December 14. On March 14, the Judiciary Committee by unanimous consent agreed to take final Committee action on the amendment on March 28. On March 28, the Judiciary Committee by a vote of 10 to 9 postponed indefinitely all Constitutional amendments.

Status:

IN THE SENATE:

On the calendar awaiting action.

IN THE HOUSE:

In the Judiciary Committee.

December 14, 1916, the Judiciary Committee reported the amendment without recommendation to the House where it is awaiting action.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE WOMAN VOTE



ANNA LOUISE STRONG

So much has been written and said about the woman vote by others than those who did the voting, that the National American Woman Suffrage Association considers it of interest and profit to submit some testimony from the women voters themselves. Among the representations claimed as conclusively proved by the woman vote, the chief has been that the western woman is indifferent to her eastern sister's enfranchisement, as shown by her predilection for Mr. Wilson in spite of Mr. Hughes's pronounced commitment in favor of the Federal suffrage amendment. It is in regard to this particular aspect of the question that the testimony on file at the national suffrage headquarters is of particular interest.

This testimony comes from every suffrage state in the Union, and from it leaps the salient insistence that, whichever way they voted, the women were not, in their own conviction, turning a cold shoulder upon the Federal suffrage amendment. Some voted for Hughes, some for Wilson, but it would seem that in casting up chances, so far as the amendment was concerned, the woman voter showed a disposition to rest her faith on achievement rather than on promise. Mr. Hughes had come out for the amendment, but he was appraised as a late comer-out. Mr. Wilson's earlier conversion to suffrage and actual vote for suffrage and actual grip on his party weighed heavily in his favor.

A Kansas woman sums up the indications thus: "Many of our women voted for Wilson because he voted for suffrage in New Jersey and because if elected for a second term he could do more for suffrage than in the first when his party had been so opposed."

This conviction that Wilson could handle a reluctant party better than it could be handled under a Republican administration, itself not committed to nation-wide suffrage as a party measure, is voiced by an Illinois woman also: "Some women (Republican) and some Democratic suffragists thought if the Republican party insisted on a Democratic suffrage plank Wilson could put it through as well as Republicans."

And again, from Washington: "Mr. Wilson voted for suffrage in New Jersey. Mr. Hughes, as far as we could learn, had not voted for anything in ten years. The Democratic platform promised quite as much for suffrage as did the Republican platform."

An Oregon woman declares that she worked for the return of President Wilson as hard as she could and "I never failed to emphasize on every occasion that President Wilson voted for suffrage and that I heard him say in Atlantic City that in the end we would not quarrel about method. I for one shall be

greatly disappointed if the Federal amendment does not pass during the next administration."

"From my personal interviews with women all over the State," writes a Nevada woman, "I can honestly say that the vote for Wilson was not an indication that the women do not care about the Federal amendment. Women here are rejoicing over having cast their first ballot and are more anxious than ever that all women should have the same right."

And a California woman who voted for Hughes points out that it is a signal fact that in only one state could the woman's vote be separately counted, and in that state they voted for the candidate who was outspokenly in favor of the Federal amendment.

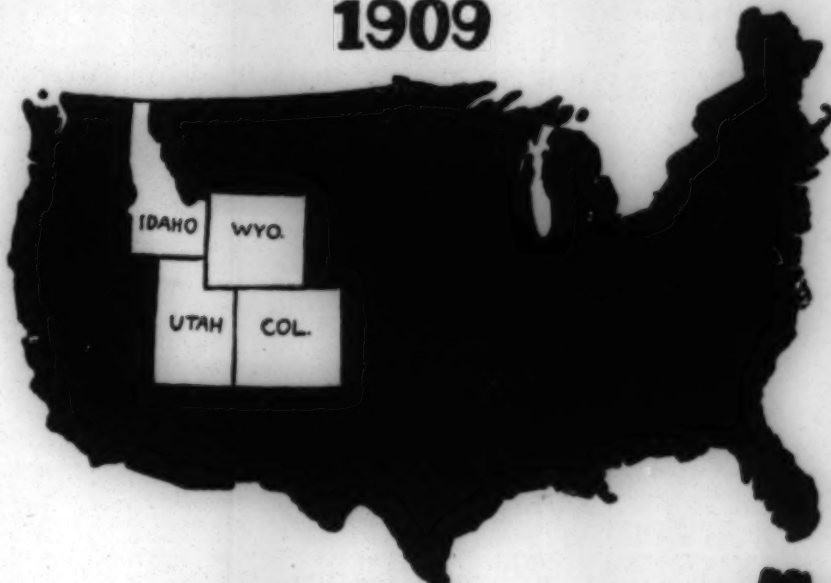
What an Idaho woman says about the fear of reactionary forces behind Hughes is voiced by not a few. "As many Republican men as Republican women voted the Democratic ticket this year for the sole purpose of 'getting rid of the gang.' The political pot needed cleansing."

In a pointed analysis of the Woman vote, Miss Anna Louise Strong, one of the representative women of the Pacific coast, known far and wide for her vivid concern in advanced social and industrial programs, in a résumé of reasons why she voted for Mr. Wilson summarizes considerations that weighed with the western woman voter as follows:

"The Democratic platform was practically identical with the Republican, and the character of the two candidates differed only in that one had been broadened by four years' experience in the White House, and the other had passed those years in the ultra-conservative atmosphere of the Supreme Court. Their utterance showed this difference; I chose Wilson.

"My belief in women's suffrage and my hope of a Federal amendment had also much to do with my vote. I understood the point of view of the 'Women's Party' but did not agree with it. Had they succeeded in carrying the suffrage states for Hughes, had they been able in complete triumph to say to Congress, 'We did it,' the Federal amendment would, in my opinion, have been indefinitely postponed. Requiring two-thirds majority in both houses, and three-fourths of all states, it can never pass except by a majority in each party, and any action which tends to arouse party bitterness against it is fatal. The Democrats in the last Congress showed themselves fully as sympathetic toward it as did the Republicans.

"I voted for a Republican for Senator (Poindexter), because his past record on suffrage and other matters was better than that of his opponent, and for the Democrat, George Cotterill, for Congress, for the same reason. In fact I distinctly objected when the women of the East asked us to oppose Mrs. Axtell, a woman candidate for Congress, and George Cotterill, the father of our own suffrage amendment, because they were Democrats. No greater contribution could have been made by our state toward the Federal amendment than the election of these two, instead of the stand-pat Republicans we were urged by the Eastern women to vote for."

SEEN' IS BELIEVIN'—HAVE A LOOK !**1909**

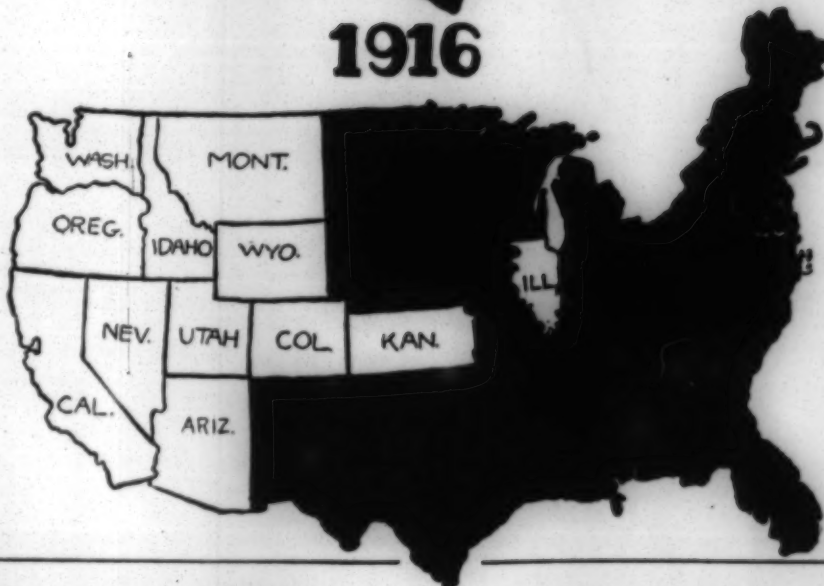
1909

In 1909, four states, totalling exactly 17 votes in the Electoral College, represented the fruits of 61 years of agitation for woman suffrage.

1911

1911

Washington gave the vote to women in 1910; California followed suit in 1911, raising the number of equal suffrage States to six that year and increasing their representation in the Electoral College to 37.

1916

1916

Last November the women in 12 states voted for President and decided how 91 electoral votes should be cast.

The press conceded very generally that the women's votes decided the election.

CONGRESSIONAL

1. Mrs. Edward F. Felckert, New Jersey.
2. Mrs. Alexander H. Scott, Indiana.
3. Miss Florence Hoge, West Virginia.
4. Dr. Esther Pohl Lovejoy, Oregon.
5. Mrs. John H. Lewis, Virginia.
6. Miss Mary A. Ospina, Delaware.
7. Mrs. Charles Passmore, Missouri.
8. Mrs. Robert P. Johnston, New Hampshire.

9. Main Assembly Room, National Headquarters, Washington, D. C.
10. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, New York.
11. Mrs. J. O. Miller, Pennsylvania.
12. Miss Pauline V. Orr, Mississippi.
13. Helen Fay Doran, District of Columbia.
14. Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York.
15. Mrs. Edward M. Post, Kentucky.



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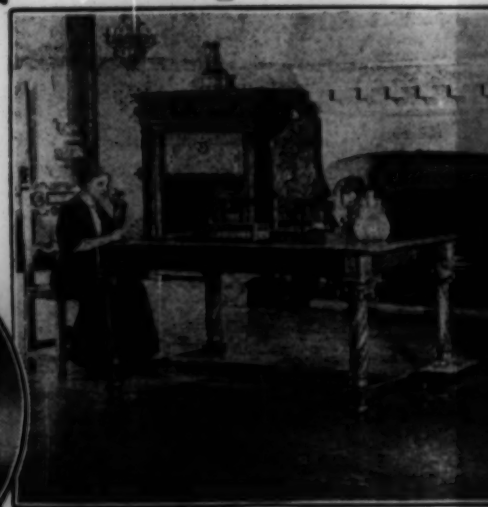
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AL CHAIRMEN



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16. Miss Mary O'Toole, District of Columbia.
17. Mrs. W. V. Morgan, Kansas.
18. Mrs. Ben Hooper, Wisconsin.
19. Mrs. O. H. Clark, Michigan.
20. Mrs. Helen Moore, Texas.
21. Mrs. A. E. Scranton-Taylor, Connecticut.
22. Mrs. Frances S. Whiteside, Georgia.
23. Mrs. Emily C. McDougald, Georgia.
24. Mrs. Mary L. Mcendon, Georgia.

25. Mrs. George A. Smith, Washington.
26. Mrs. Charles C. Moller, Minnesota.
27. Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, Rhode Island.
28. Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, Arkansas.
29. Mrs. Guilford Dudley (and her children), Tennessee.
30. Mrs. John F. Odom, Louisiana.
31. Mrs. Lewis J. Johnson, Massachusetts.
32. Frances S. Bailey, North Dakota.
33. Mrs. F. H. Nastail, Vermont.



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WANTED—A Little Clear Thinking

ACTUAL QUOTATIONS FROM CONGRESSMEN

Republican member from North Dakota:

"Women have shown their incapacity to comprehend large national questions by voting Democratic in ten states."

Member from Ohio:

"Women would have no influence in politics as they would only vote as their husbands do."

Member from North Carolina:

"Women are too pure, too noble to be dragged into the corruption of politics."

Member from Kentucky:

"Woman suffrage is strictly a States' Rights question."

Member from Alabama:

"Prohibition is a moral question and therefore Congress should make it nation wide."

Wet member from Kentucky:

"Women are unfit for general politics. They only want suffrage in order to vote on prohibition and when they have done that they would quit."

Dry Southern member:

"I will never consent to force the vote on an unwilling woman."

Democratic member from Wisconsin:

"Women have shown their inherent conservatism and lack of general progressiveness by voting Republican in Oregon and Illinois."

Member from Massachusetts:

"Women are too emotional to vote intelligently, as evidenced by their vote for Woodrow Wilson." When asked how he accounted for the fact that the rural Massachusetts vote had gone the same way, he replied, "Oh, their wives drove them to it."

Member from New York:

"Women would sell their votes cheaper than men."

Same member at home:

"Never will I consent to submit a state suffrage amendment."

Same member:

"Woman suffrage is a political question and therefore it must be settled state by state."

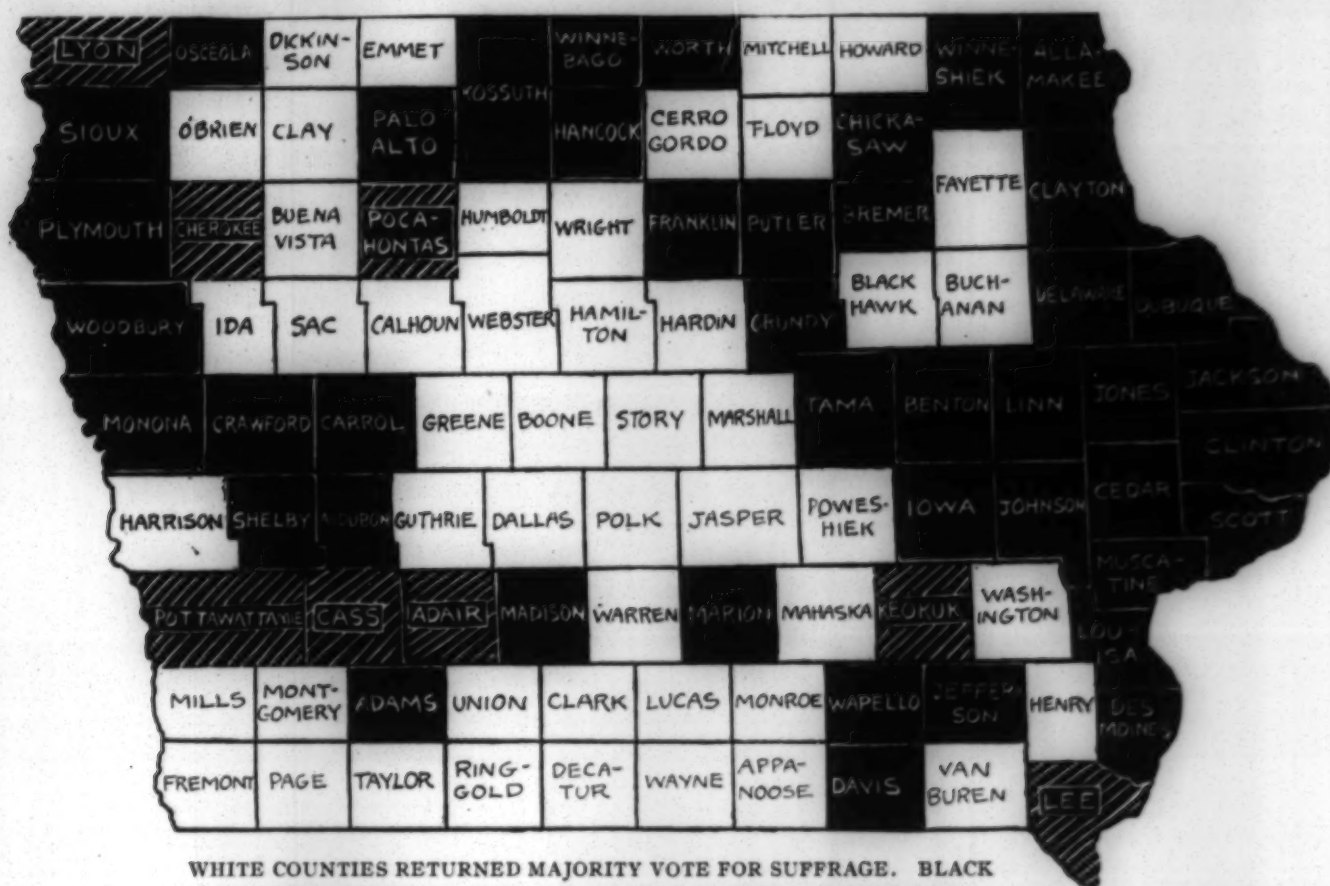
Dry member from Georgia:

"Women didn't vote prohibition into California law, which they would have done had they had the political moral sense to fit them for general politics."

Same member:

Voted to include women in the voter's list, if the District prohibition bill should be submitted to referendum.

IOWA—WHERE SUFFRAGE WAS DEFEATED BY 10,000 VOTES AND 47 VARIETIES OF FRAUD



WHITE COUNTIES RETURNED MAJORITY VOTE FOR SUFFRAGE. BLACK COUNTIES VOTED AGAINST SUFFRAGE. STRIPED COUNTIES RETURNED MAJORITY OF LESS THAN 100 AGAINST SUFFRAGE.

A Woman Suffrage Amendment to the State Constitution was voted upon in Iowa on Primary Day, June 5, 1916. The question was never submitted before. In 1882 a prohibition constitutional amendment was adopted by a large majority and promptly set aside by the supreme court on a technicality. The wet and dry question has been a vexed political issue ever since. The state now has prohibition by statutory enactment. A constitutional amendment is pending, having passed the Legislature of 1916 and is due to pass the Legislature of 1916. The "wets," therefore, were extremely active in opposing the suffrage amendment, as they were determined that the women of the state should have no vote on prohibition should it come to the people again. Although the women kept their question distinctly separate from prohibition, the wet and dry issue, everyone admitted, would prove a determining factor.

Every judge of the Supreme Court, the United States Senators, the Governor, most of the men prominent in Republican and Democratic politics, most of the clergymen and most of the press and every woman's state organization espoused the suffrage amendment.

Men familiar with Iowa politics advised the suffrage campaigners early and late and all the time

between that it was unnecessary to conduct an intensive campaign as "everybody believed in it." In the face of this omnipresent optimism thousands of women gave every possibility of their lives for months before to arouse, instruct and acquaint the men and women of the state concerning the question.

Yet the amendment was lost by about 10,000 votes. Were four counties (Dubuque, Clinton, Scott and Des Moines counties) not included in the returns, the state would have been carried for woman suffrage. Who were the people who defeated it? The following table gives the answer.

Iowa Counties	Total Population	Total Native Parentage	Total Foreign and Foreign Parentage	Total German, Austrian, Russian and of such Parentage
Dubuque.....	57,450	24,024	33,426	14,566
Clinton.....	45,394	19,116	26,278	11,494
Scott.....	60,000	24,104	35,896	20,119
Des Moines....	36,145	17,769	18,376	7,828

The vote on woman suffrage was 162,679, yes, and 173,020, no. The "yes vote" of the above four counties was 8,061; the "no vote" 18,941. Subtract these totals from the totals of the state vote

and 154,618 "yes" and 154,079 "no" remains, giving a majority of 539 for woman suffrage.

So it happened that once more counties containing populations largely foreign decided the issue. Did they decide the election honestly? That is a question of interest to Iowa just now. The returns revealed some suspicious facts. Nearly 30,000 more votes were cast on the suffrage proposition than in the Primary. Where did they come from? The President of the W. C. T. U., Mrs. Ida B. Wise Smith, employed a detective after the election. His investigation covered 44 counties and was not confined to those wherein woman suffrage was lost. The findings have not been given to the public in their entirety but they were conclusive enough to cause an injunction suit to be filed against the Board of Elections and the Legislature to restrain them from accepting the official returns.

Registration was necessary for the Amendment, not for the Primary, yet thousands of unregistered votes apparently were cast upon the Amendment. All good election laws provide that a definite number of ballots shall be officially issued to each precinct; that the number of those deposited in the ballot box, the number spoiled and those unused shall not only tally with the number received, but the unused ones must be counted, sealed, labelled and returned with the certificate recording the count. This is the law of Iowa; but the report of the investigation, as given to the press, shows that in 35 counties out of the 44 investigated no tally list was used and there was nothing by which to check up in order to determine the correctness of the number on the certificate. In many cases no unused ballots were returned. The poll lists did not tally with the number of votes and even a recount could not reveal whether fraud or carelessness had led to the irregularity.

Despite the fact that the Iowa law commands a definite number of ballots and the same number of each kind to be distributed to each precinct, the separate suffrage ballot, in a number of cases, was reported by election officials as not having arrived until the voting had been in progress for some time; and in others they gave out an hour before the polls closed.

Forty-seven varieties of violations of the election law are alleged to have been committed. Do these indicate wilful fraud or mere ignorance and carelessness? Just now no one seems prepared to answer. Meantime Iowa, one of the most intelligent and progressive states in the nation, stands at the bar of public opinion accused of incapacity to conduct an honest election! How she will defend herself, what reparation she will make to her women, and what steps she will take to insure clean elections and better enforcement of her election law in the future are problems which await the Legislature. That body cannot refuse to take action of some kind without inviting the suspicion that her legislators prefer conditions which lend themselves to the base uses of election manipulators whenever they may care to avail themselves of them.

SOUTH DAKOTA—WHERE THE MALE FOREIGNER'S VOTE IS MIGHTIER THAT THE VOICE OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN

On November 7, 1916, woman suffrage and prohibition amendments were voted upon in South Dakota. It was the first time these two questions have gone to referendum in the same election and the results furnish interesting data for comparison.

Certain facts tell a story which should make progressive and patriotic Americans, and fair-minded Congressmen, reflect.

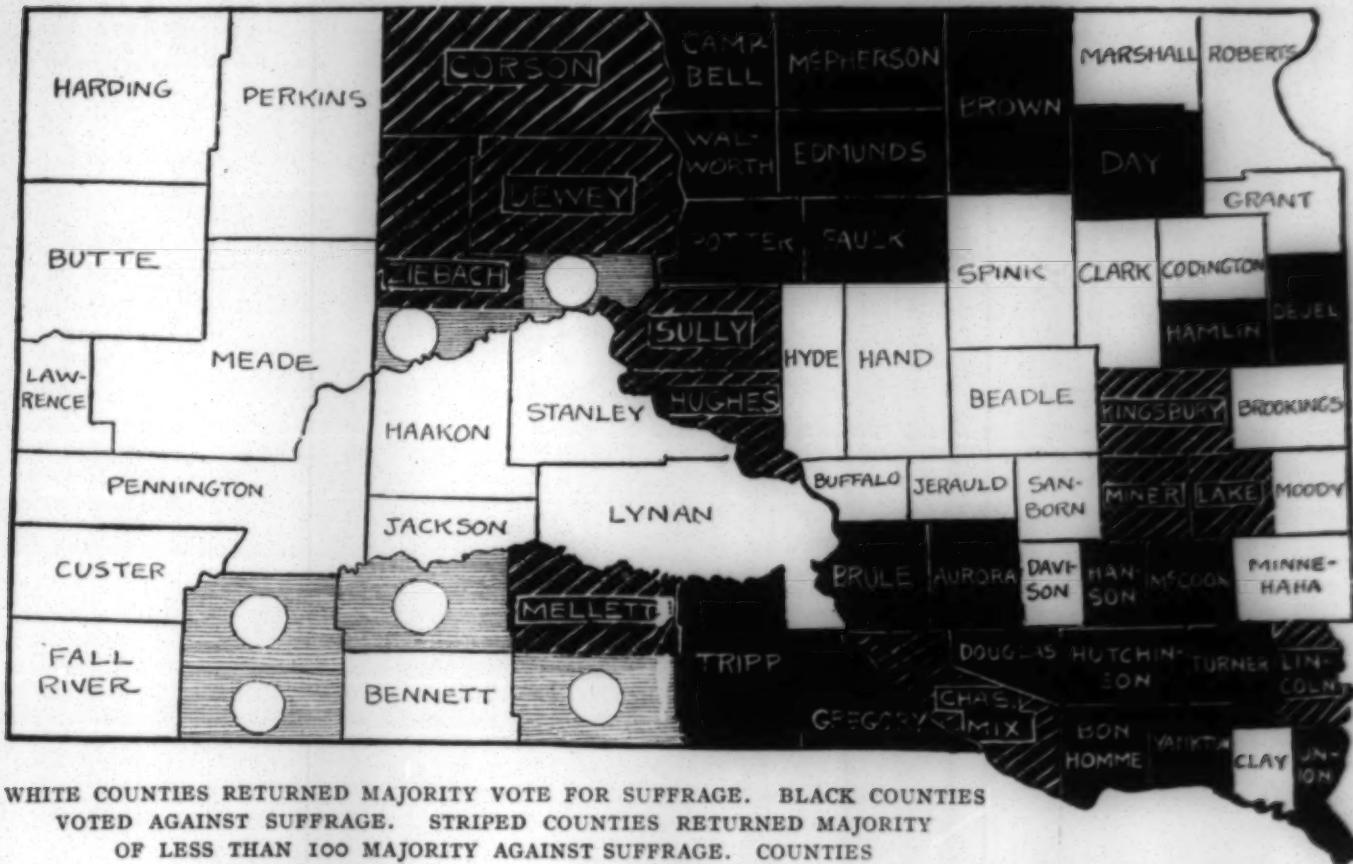
Prohibition was carried by a majority of 11,469; woman suffrage was lost by a majority of 4,664. Prohibition was lost in thirteen counties. In one of these, Lawrence, which lies in the heart of the mining country, woman suffrage was carried by a majority of 600. The reason is gratifying. Many miners from Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming and Utah, where woman suffrage has been in operation for years, now work in the Black Hills and easily put to rout the traditions, doubts and prejudices of their fellow-miners. More, the two women who managed the campaign in the county had been voters, but were disfranchised by crossing a state border line and the obvious injustice made a strong appeal to fair-minded men.

The total "yes" vote on woman suffrage was 51,687; the "no" vote, 56,351. The total "yes" vote of the nine counties listed below was 4,877; the "no" vote was 10,569. Subtracting from the state total the total of these nine counties, the record stands 46,810 "yes" votes and 45,782 "no" votes.

Who then are the voters of the nine counties who kept the women of an entire state disfranchised? The following table presents the answer:

Counties	Total Population	Total Native Parentage	Total Foreign and Foreign Parentage	Total German Austrian Russian, or of Such Parentage
Bon Homme....	11,061	3,448	7,613	4,759
Brule.....	6,451	3,008	3,443	1,556
Charles Mix....	14,899	6,387	8,512	2,757
Campbell.....	5,244	600	4,644	3,491
Douglas.....	6,400	2,017	4,383	1,644
McCook.....	9,589	4,068	5,521	1,691
Hutchinson....	12,319	2,671	9,648	7,515
McPherson....	6,791	1,152	5,639	4,889
Turner.....	13,840	4,206	9,634	4,432

The large "no" vote in other parts of the state is accounted for by the same facts. The total popu-



lation is 583,888, the population of foreign birth or foreign parentage is 243,835. South Dakota is one of the *nine* remaining states where foreigners may vote on their "first papers" and citizenship is not a qualification for a vote.

The returns offer still other food for reflection. Hutchinson County, for example, carried prohibition and lost woman suffrage. It gave 584 dry votes; 510 wet votes. It gave 432 "yes" votes on woman suffrage and 1,583 "no" votes. Thus 921 more votes were cast on the suffrage proposition than on the prohibition question. The people in this county are German-Russians and exceedingly ignorant. Apparently they were not intelligent enough to be lined up to vote "no" on both questions. Is it not likely that those votes were intended to be "wet" and that they made a mistake and picked No. 6 instead of No. 7?

These German-Russians migrated from Germany and found a home in Russia some 230 or more years ago, in order to escape conscription. When Russia began to enforce conscription about 1888 the entire group came to America and settled in colonies in the Western states which at the time offered free lands. *They were totally illiterate then and have not yet escaped from the mental habits of the Middle Ages. These are the men who have denied American women the vote in South Dakota.*

A Federal Amendment, ratified by the Legislatures of the several States would secure to the American women of South Dakota the rights for which

American men in that State have voted. The entire western, or most American, part of the State carried for suffrage two years ago. One county adjacent to Wyoming has carried for woman suffrage in every referendum, namely, six.

The only argument against the Federal Amendment thus far advanced is that one group of states which want woman suffrage may force woman suffrage upon another group which does not want it. That argument works both ways. A group of counties which do not want woman suffrage can force disfranchisement of women upon counties which oppose it. The first argument is said to be inspired by the principle of American sovereignty. *The second raises the question as to whether our institutions shall be derived from Germany, Austria and Russia or from our home-grown and home-educated citizens?*

* * *

*We wish you all a glad New Year
And how to make it glad is clear.
You learnt as children from your mothers
The joy of giving joy to others.
So what could make your year so pleasant
As making us a New Year's present?
And what so good a gift can be
As freedom?—won't you set us free?*

VOTE FOR THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT.

THE STORY OF WEST VIRGINIA

West Virginia was the first southern state to submit a referendum on Woman Suffrage and the vote was taken November 7, 1916. The Amendment was defeated by the largest majority any suffrage amendment ever received. Unlike Iowa and South Dakota, where all the educated classes with few exceptions believe in woman suffrage, West Virginia is probably not yet converted. Arguments and excuses which did service in the West twenty-five years ago were brought forward as though just formulated. The illiteracy of the state is appallingly high, and the illiterate is universally an anti-suffragist.

The ever-present prohibition issue played an important if not a determining part. A prohibition law was voted in by an immense majority in 1914, but the "Wets" were undismayed and propose a re-submission as soon as they can get it. They apparently regard the woman suffrage amendment as an outer defense to be taken before the march on the main fort can be begun, and every "Wet," high and low, was on duty. The "Drys," who would do well to study Napoleon's rule of strategy—that is, "find out what your enemy doesn't want you to do and then do it"—were much disturbed as to what St. Paul would think were he here, and concluded not to be hasty.

At the Democratic Convention an anti woman spoke. The applause in the gallery and in the standing groups filling the outside aisles was uproarious and clearly an organized, carefully planted claque. The leaders were an ex-brewer, an ex-saloon keeper and the chief liquor lobbyist of the state. It was evident that they were there to intimidate the party, and they did. The Democrats threw a bouquet to the women in the form of a plank and then "double crossed" on it. Practically the same thing happened in the Republican Convention. They, too, endorsed a plank and "double crossed." There was apparently no difference between the two on that score. Men who had always been profound suffragists weakly confessed themselves afraid to speak for woman suffrage in the campaign lest votes be lost for their party. Political campaigners who went into the state, with the exception of Senator Borah and Raymond Robbins, were told not to mention suffrage, and they obeyed. Among these were Mr. Hughes, Republican, and Secretary Daniels, Democratic, each representing their respective national platforms, which included suffrage by state action. The "Wets" had the state literally by the throat.

Election day came. Women poll workers reported from many parts of the state that drunken hoodlums were lined up and driven into the precincts, saying boldly that they were going to vote "agin' the ——— women." The women workers testified with remarkable unanimity that their opposition was chiefly "riff-raff and illiterate negroes." Even an Excise Commissioner, under pay of the National Government, worked against woman suffrage all day in one precinct.

A premonition of what might happen appeared in September, when Judge John M. Woods, of the Circuit Court, instructed a grand jury to investigate

the political situation in Berkely County. He declared election conditions had become intolerable and that in his judgment one-third of the voters in that county were purchasable. Elections, he said, had degenerated into an auction where offices went to the highest bidder.

The election of November 7th over, the cry of fraud was so insistent that the Governor called a special session of the Legislature to investigate. Colonization, bribery and every known form of corruption was alleged to have been used. One of the chief papers of the state declared that the election scandals had surpassed all that had gone before and dubbed the opposing party "a den of thieves."

The Governor withdrew his proposed investigation. Why? Apparently the lifted curtain would reveal too much. That money was used many women were willing to testify. In one city one woman reported that "warrants were out after the elect of the town and that this was true in every ward of the city," and these were based upon the accusation of the use of money.

Others reported that men boldly asked whether they would be paid for suffrage votes, and if so, how much. When they found there was no reward for suffrage votes they scornfully but frankly announced that they could do better on the other side.

Perhaps woman suffrage would have been defeated after a fair campaign and an honest election in West Virginia. Perhaps the better elements are not yet quite convinced in majority. But the fact which stares us in the face is that it went down to defeat in an election that can only be described as *The Shame of West Virginia*.

* * *

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OBJECTIONS TO THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT

(1) *It is the right of the States to determine who shall vote and on what terms.* This objection is urged by all opponents of woman suffrage but is either a barricade to defend themselves from the necessity of exposing the fact that they have no reasons, or is a play to postpone woman suffrage as long as possible. By a few it is urged conscientiously and with conviction.

The Constitution of the United States as now amended provides that no male citizen subject to state qualifications shall be denied the vote by any state. Were all the state constitutions amended so as to enfranchise women, the word male would still stand in the national constitution. Men and women would still be unequal, since the national constitution can impose a penalty upon a state which denies the vote to men but none upon the state which discriminates against women. A woman comes from Montana to represent that state in Congress. The State of Montana has done its utmost to remove her political disabilities, yet should she cross the border of her state and live in North Dakota, she loses all that Montana gave her. Not so the male voter. Enfranchised in one state, he is enfranchised in all (subject to difference of qualification only). The women of this nation will never be content with less protection in their right to vote than is given to men, and there is no other possible way to secure that protection except through amendment to the national constitution. No single state, nor the forty-eight collectively, can grant that protection except through the Constitution.

As granting to half the population of our country the right of consent to their own government, whose expenses they help to pay, is a question of fundamental human liberty, Congress and the Legislatures should be proud to act and to add one more immortal chapter to America's history of freedom.

(2) Several members from the South say: "We shall never consent to the grant of a vote to Negro women, therefore we oppose the Federal Amendment. A Federal Amendment no more enfranchises negro women than a State Amendment would, since the state can make any reasonable qualification of property ownership, taxation or education. It is understood that the far South has managed pretty generally to disfranchise the negro man by these means. Do these members mean to infer that the South is less free to act in the case of the negro woman? The difference in method is this: If women are enfranchised by Federal Amendment, white men will invoke the chivalry of the South and make the daughters of that section the political equals of Western and Canadian women. If Southern women are to be enfranchised by state referenda, white women must appeal to such negro men as still exercise the franchise, to vote to make them the Negro's political equal. If both methods are considered obnoxious on account of the race question it must be remembered that the white woman of the South is the political subject of the Negro sovereign and there she will remain until some power lifts her from that humiliating position. If there should be a single

Southern man who hopes and believes that no Southern woman will ever vote, he must be prepared to imagine the women of that section the political inferiors of all the women of the civilized world. The answer to that objection is found when the objector compels himself to serious, logical reflection. As a matter of fact the number of white females in every Southern state except two vastly exceeds the number of Negro females. Then why object? In South Carolina and Mississippi the Negro population, both male and female, exceeded the white male and female population.

In South Carolina voters must read, own and pay taxes on \$300 worth of property and in Mississippi voters must read the Constitution and these qualifications seem to protect the white race satisfactorily.

In the fifteen states south of Mason and Dixon line there are twice as many white women as negro women. Equal suffrage would tremendously increase the white vote and most helpfully raise the educational and moral standard of the electorate. Chief Justice Clark, of South Carolina, has repeatedly said that "woman suffrage is necessary to maintain white supremacy."

* * *

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER.

Published Monthly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1916

STATE OF NEW YORK } ss.
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a notary public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared CHARLES T. HEASLIP, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is Managing Editor of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, publishers of the Headquarters News Letter, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443 Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the name and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

NAME OF	POST OFFICE ADDRESS
Publisher, National American Woman Suffrage Association,	171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Editor, Charles T. Heaslip,	171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor, Charles T. Heaslip,	171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Business Manager, Miss Eleanor H. Bates,	171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of the total amount of stock.)

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, consisting of 67 organizations, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
President, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)
None.

4. That the two paragraphs preceding, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

CHARLES T. HEASLIP, Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of October, 1916.

MAY C. GUERIN.

(Seal)

(My commission expires March 30, 1917.)

